

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 297852

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CO, XM

SUBJECT: LIEVANO'S VIEWS ON THE US AND LATIN AMERICA.

REF: BOGOTA'S 11776.

FROM ASST. SEC. ROGERS.

1. YOUR REPORT ON FOREIGN MINISTER LIEVANO'S VIEWS ON THE
US-LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP IS MOST WELCOME.

2. I AGREE THAT U.S. POWER IS AT THE CENTER OF THE US-LATIN
AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP. LIKE IT OR NOT, THE US IMPACT ON
LATIN AMERICAN SOCIETIES IS LARGE, AND IN MOST CASES PER-
VASIVE. IF THIS IS WHAT IS MEANT BY THE TERM "SPECIAL
RELATIONSHIP," THEN I CAN AGREE THAT OUR RELATIONS WITH
LATIN AMERICA ARE MORE "SPECIAL" THAN THEY ARE WITH MANY
OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD, CERTAINLY THAN WITH ANY OTHER PART
OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD. I ALSO FULLY AGREE THAT U.S. POW-
ER AND ITS HISTORICAL USE IN THE REGION GIVE RISE TO A
SPECIAL PROBLEM OF LATIN AMERICAN SENSITIVITY TO THE
VESTIGES OF HEGEMONY, WHICH LIEVANO EUPHEMISTICALLY TERMS
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"THE REMOVAL OF DIVISIVE ISSUES AND SOURCES OF ENMITY."

AS HE RIGHTLY POINTS OUT, PANAMA IS THE CURRENT MANIFESTATION OF THIS PROBLEM, AS WAS CUBA UNTIL THE SAN JOSE MEETING.

3. I HAVE TROUBLE, HOWEVER WITH THE REST OF LIEVANO'S ARGUMENT. IS A "COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENT" DEPENDENT UPON THE U.S. GIVING SPECIAL CONSIDERATION TO LATIN AMERICA? I WOULD SAY YES - IF, BY SPECIAL CONSIDERATION, WE MEAN THAT IN FORMULATING OUR POLICIES WE SHOULD GIVE WEIGHT TO THEIR EFFECT ON THE REGION IN PROPORTION TO THE REGION'S IMPORTANCE TO US. THIS, UNFORTUNATELY, HAS NOT ALWAYS BEEN THE CASE. IN PURSUING OTHER OBJECTIVES, WE HAVE AT TIMES FAILED TO TAKE SUFFICIENT ACCOUNT OF OUR LATIN AMERICAN INTERESTS (THE 1971 SURCHARGE, THE OPEC EXCLUSIONS FROM GSP COME TO MIND). ON THE OTHER HAND, IT SEEMS CLEAR TO ME THAT MORE GENERALLY OUR POLICIES TOWARD THE DEVELOPING WORLD HAVE BEEN INFLUENCED IN A MAJOR WAY BY THE CLOSENESS OF OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE COUNTRIES OF LATIN AMERICA.

4. GIVING OUR LATIN AMERICAN INTERESTS THEIR DUE IS DIFFERENT FROM SAYING THAT SPECIAL CONSIDERATION SHOULD BE TRANSLATED INTO PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT COMPARABLE TO THE EUROPEAN ARRANGEMENT WITH THE AFRICANS. THAT KIND OF PREFERENTIAL APPROACH IS ONE THAT THE U.S. HAS OFTEN THOUGHT ESSENTIAL TO ANYTHING WORTHY OF THE NAME OF "A LATIN AMERICAN POLICY." BUT THE EFFORT HAS ALWAYS IN THE END FAILED OR AT LEAST PROVED ELUSIVE. (EVEN IN THE heyday OF THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS WE FOUND THAT THE LATIN AMERICAN INTEREST WAS OFTEN OUTGUNNED BY GLOBAL POLICIES AND DOMESTIC INTERESTS: HICKENLOOPER, CONTE-LONG, ETC.)

5. IN THAT RESPECT LIEVANO'S NOTION OF SPECIAL CONSIDERATION LOOKS BACKWARD. THE FUTURE, IT SEEMS TO ME, IS A LATIN AMERICA WITH INCREASINGLY DIVERSIFIED TIES TO THE ENTIRE WORLD. THE ASPIRATIONS OF MANY OF THE LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES REGARDING THEIR ROLE IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA MAY BE GREATER THAN THOSE OF THE EX-EUROPEAN COLONIES IN THE LOME PACT. IF THIS IS THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT, THEN THE KIND OF SPECIAL TIES WITH THE U.S.,

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IF BY THAT HE MEANS, AS HE SEEMS TO MEAN, ONE MIGHT NOTE THAT THERE HAS BEEN A DARK SIDE TO OUR STABS AT A PREFERENTIAL ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP: PARENTHETICALLY, ONE MIGHT NOTE THAT THERE HAS BEEN A DARK SIDE TO OUR STABS AT A PREFERENTIAL ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP: AS WE NOW KNOW, WHAT LIEVANO DEPLORES AS NEO-COLONIALISM REACHED A KIND OF PEAK DURING THE ALLIANCE PERIOD OF THE 1960S.

6. ALL THIS DOES NOT MEAN THE U.S. SHOULD NOT, OR IS

INCAPABLE OF , GIVING SPECIAL ATTENTION TO ITS LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP AS IT FORMULATES ITS GLOBAL POLICIES. THIS INDEED IS WHAT WE HAVE TRIED TO DO OVER THE PAST YEAR. OUR EFFORTS IN THE SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION ARE EARNEST OF THIS.

7. IT IS A PITY THAT LIEVANO SEES THE U.S. AS NOT HAVING A COHERENT POLICY. IN FACT, I WOULD ARGUE THAT OUR POLICY MAY BE MORE COHERENT NOW THAN IT HAS BEEN FOR SOME YEARS PAST. OUR COMMITMENTS ARE MUCH MORE PROPORTIONAL TO OUR ABILITY TO PERFORM AND MORE CONSISTENT WITH TRENDS IN LATIN AMERICA.

8. A FINAL NOTE: I WOULD MAKE A DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE ISSUE OF MULTILATERALISM VERSUS BILATERALISM, AND THE RELATED BUT DISTINCT ISSUE OF REGIONALISM VERSUS BILATERALISM (OR VERSUS GLOBALISM). I BELIEVE THAT WE CAN STILL HAVE A REGIONAL POLICY WHICH IS THE KIND OF "TILT" TOWARD LATIN AMERICA IN OUR GLOBAL APPROACH THAT I HAVE ALLUDED TO IN PARAGRAPH 6 ABOVE. AN EXAMPLE OF THE LATTER IS THE COFFEE AGREEMENT WHICH HAS DEFINITE BENEFITS FOR COUNTRIES LIKE COLOMBIA AND IN WHICH WE PARTICIPATE LARGELY BECAUSE OF OUR CONCERN ABOUT LATIN AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT, BUT WHICH WE IMPLEMENT ON A GLOBAL BASIS. IT DOES NOT FOLLOW, IT SEEMS TO ME, THAT BECAUSE WE GIVE SPECIAL WEIGHT TO OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH LATIN AMERICA, WE MUST OF NECESSITY EMPHASIZE MULTILATERALISM IN OUR REGIONAL DIPLOMACY. IF MULTILATERALISM SIMPLY EXACERBATES THE INHERENT CONFLICTS BETWEEN US AND THE LATIN AMERICANS, THEN I WOULD ARGUE THAT IT IS BETTER TO CARRY ON MOST OF OUR BUSINESS EITHER BILATERALLY OR IN THE GLOBAL CONTEXT. KISSINGER

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